

REPUBLICAN
ACCOMPLISHMENTS IN
EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

REVIEW

OF THE

EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS

(January 3, 1951–July 7, 1952)

PREPARED UNDER DIRECTION

OF

SENATOR STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

REPUBLICAN SENATE FLOOR LEADER

AND

REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

REPUBLICAN HOUSE FLOOR LEADER



JULY 4 (legislative day, JUNE 27), 1952.—Ordered to be printed

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REVIEW OF THE EIGHTY-SECOND CONGRESS BY SENATOR STYLES BRIDGES, OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, REPUBLICAN SENATE FLOOR LEADER, AND REPRESENTATIVE JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR., OF MASSACHUSETTS, REPUBLICAN HOUSE FLOOR LEADER

The Democrat Eighty-second Congress muddled to a dismal end July 7, 1952, demonstrating conclusively that Democrat Party leadership in Congress, as well as in the executive branch, cannot resolve the critical issues of our time.

ANOTHER DEMOCRAT CONGRESS FAILS THE PEOPLE

This Congress had no answer for our young people who want to know how they can plan their education, how they can start a career, and how they can get married and build a home free of compulsory military service and the fear of war.

It had no answer for our housewives whose pocketbooks and market baskets are robbed by 53-cent dollars caused by inflation which the administration seeks to check by price controls while it feeds inflation with wasteful, uncontrolled spending.

It had no answer for our veterans, our retired school teachers, wage earners, farmers, and our older people whose savings, pensions, insurance, and investments have been cut in half, except to offer them more Government hand-outs in return for their votes and for the surrender of their independence.

It had no answer for the crushing taxation which takes a third of all our income—except more taxation.

The Democrat administration, in full control of the executive department, had no answer for labor-management relations except the unconstitutional seizure of plants and industries which is the first step to the seizure of labor unions and compulsory labor of men.

For political reasons the President repeatedly refused to apply the Labor-Management Relations Act which is the law of the land expressly intended to apply to strike emergencies. His failure to execute the laws in the steel strike cost labor millions of dollars in lost wages and set back the Nation's defense for many months.

Republicans vigorously resisted the President's unconstitutional seizure and were vindicated by the clear-cut decision of the Supreme Court rebuking the President's action.

The administration had no answer to favoritism and corruption in Government except to promise an executive clean-up that ended in a complete farce.

It had no answer for peace except a stalemate war in Korea, a lagging defense program, and the grim reminder that our people will live under the shadow of war for years to come.

Although in full control of Congress and the executive department and with extraordinary powers and unlimited money to spend, the Democrat leaders had no solution for any of these problems.

A DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION BOUND BY ITS OWN MISTAKES

The fact is the Democrat administration is paralyzed by the accumulation of its own mistakes. Its membership in Congress is a mixture of splinters and factions quarreling among themselves. Many important measures passed by one House were rejected in the other. Grave national problems were either neglected or caught up in the warfare between the Democrat President and the Democrat Eighty-second Congress.

In consequence, the Eighty-second Congress confined itself mainly to the bare essentials needed to keep the Government going—the appropriation bills, the extension of existing Government powers, and a few inconsequential laws. With patchwork legislation it tried to conceal unwise policies and tragic mistakes in judgment.

While neglecting important issues, the President and Democrat leaders in Congress always shaped legislation with an eye to its political effect on the November election.¹

In the hope of gaining votes to keep itself in power, it continued the practice of increasing the special favors and the size of Government checks going to various groups of our people.

In this respect the administration is attempting to repeat its manipulation of Government operations for political effect in the same way that it rigged the grain market and raised a false grain storage bin issue in 1948. Senator George D. Aiken, of Vermont,² Representative Clifford R. Hope, of Kansas, and other Republicans³ fully exposed these administration frauds upon the Nation's farmers.⁴

CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE OF REPUBLICANS

Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress had no control over legislation, Government policies, and operations. Their role in Congress is narrowly limited. No Republican can be chairman of a congressional committee. Republicans are in a minority on all committees. They cannot carry through legislation on their own.

They cannot take administrative steps to solve national problems or to correct abuses in the Government of the country. They have no control over the conduct of foreign relations.

Nevertheless they played a constructive role in molding legislation to benefit the farmers, workers, businessmen, teachers, veterans, the aged, and the handicapped in all sections of the country. They fought to protect the American national interest in world affairs. They exposed mistakes, corruption, and other administration actions harmful to the public interest. They intensified their fight for loyalty, honesty, and integrity in Government.

¹ A typical example of political calculation is the refusal of the Democrat leadership to schedule for action a vote on the President's veto of the tidelands oil bill, Senate Joint Resolution 20. Democrats preferred to let the bill die rather than to risk offending either States rights supporters or those who want the Federal Government to control all natural resources.

² Congressional Record, June 9, 1952, pp. 6028-6031.

³ Congressional Record, April 22, 1949, pp. 4939-4949.

⁴ Hearings before Senate Agriculture and Forestry Committee, March 18-June 20, 1952.

Republicans increased their resistance to the administration's efforts to limit individual freedom and to undermine private enterprise.

They fought against further centralization of power in the Federal Government which for 20 years has sapped the strength of State and local government.

They exposed and resisted the administration's persistent tendencies toward socialism. Wherever it was possible, Republicans blocked the administration's attempt to use the national defense program as a cloak to put over socialized medicine, the Brannan plan for Federal Government control over the Nation's farmers, Government control of education, and other centralizing-socializing measures.

Republicans insisted that the President should stay within the framework of the Constitution and respect the American system of free government.

They opposed giving him the broad powers he sought which would enable him to dictate the course of American life.

They protested his Executive order giving every department of Government the power to withhold information from the press and from the people.

They exposed Government propaganda designed to cover up mistakes and corruption and to mislead the people into accepting Government attempts to plan and to regulate their lives.

Republicans continued their 20-year fight for sound money. They pointed out that dollar prosperity is a cruel and bitter illusion when the dollar buys half its former value in goods and services.

They sought with every weapon at their command to cut down the lavish and irresponsible spending of Democrat administrations, insisting that the administration practice economy in its own house before it shifted the burden of Government spending to the people by higher and higher taxes.

Today's inflated prices are the direct result of excessive Government spending. Ceiling prices, credit restrictions, and other economic controls cannot maintain the value of money as fast as Government spending destroys it.

Pressed by the Republican membership in Congress, and forced by Nation-wide public opinion, Congress spent a large part of its time investigating the executive department. In the hands of Democrats, some of these investigations proved to be whitewashes.

Others would have stopped short of the full exposure of abuses and corruption had it not been for Republicans who insisted upon full disclosures. Everywhere there were signs that the Democrat President had lost the trust and confidence of his own party members in Congress.

In all these things there was clearly revealed the appalling fact that we are witnessing the deterioration of a political party too long in power.

FAILURE TO BRING DURABLE PEACE

The Democrat Eighty-second Congress failed to bring peace to our Nation or to recover for the United States the advantage we once enjoyed in world affairs.

When the Eighty-second Congress convened, our servicemen were fighting in Korea and our security was threatened by militant communism all over the world.

When the Eighty-second Congress adjourned, our servicemen were still fighting in Korea, and they were held back from victory by the Democrat administration. Our security is still threatened by militant communism in other parts of the globe.

Having plunged us into an unnecessary war in Korea, Democrats do not know how to get us out. With no peace in sight the 114,000 American casualties already counted will be joined by a constant stream of wounded and dead for how long no one knows. Our young men face military service of unlimited duration, and perhaps eventually our young women will be subject to draft, if the administration has its way.

DEMOCRATS NEGLECT, REPUBLICANS PROTECT, SOLDIERS' VOTE

Ironically, the Democrat Eighty-second Congress was willing to let our boys fight in Korea but refused to pass legislation to let these servicemen vote in the November election.⁵ The House Republican Policy Committee had recommended legislation to facilitate the exercise of the voting franchise by men and women in the armed services.

In an attempt to provide some remedy for this situation, Senator Styles Bridges and 19 other Republicans offered Senate Resolution 349 calling upon the Federal Government and the Secretary of Defense in particular to cooperate with the governors of the States in enabling soldiers to vote in the 1952 national and State elections. The resolution was adopted by the Senate on motion of Senator Bridges.

This was done for our servicemen however: In a nonpartisan move, the Congress voted \$45 a month extra pay to officers and men on the front lines in Korea, retroactive to the beginning of the Korean war.⁶ This pay extends to men who have left the service and to their heirs.

REPUBLICANS WORK FOR REALISTIC PEACE

While Democrat leaders in the Eighty-second Congress seemed barren of ideas for ending war, Republicans displayed initiative and courage to show the way to the peace we long for, just as Republicans worked for peace in 1947 and 1948 when they controlled Congress.

The Republican Eightieth Congress worked to tilt the balance of world power in our favor. That is why Republican leaders approved aid for Greece and Turkey, shaped the Marshall plan into a more realistic program than that proposed by the administration, and initiated the North Atlantic Pact by passage of the Vandenberg resolution. Republicans insisted, though they knew the hour was late, that we give aid to China.⁷ But the Democrat administration,

⁵ Senate bill 3061, the soldier vote bill, passed the Senate June 20, 1952, but House Democrat leadership failed to report the bill to the floor for consideration and the bill died. At the same time, emergency voting provisions were left out of the reenactment of the President's emergency powers.

⁶ Public Law 488, Defense Department appropriations, approved July 10, 1952.

⁷ Title IV of the Economic Cooperation Act of 1948 (Public Law 472, approved April 3, 1948) authorized aid to China. Republicans passed this provision over Democrat administration objections.

influenced by persons following the Communist line, refused to obey Congress, thus contributing to the fall of a friendly China to the hostile Communists.

Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress sponsored and led the fight for adoption of a resolution that warned the President he could not send additional troops to Europe without congressional approval. Republicans want no more "Truman wars" like Korea where the Democrat President, without authority of Constitution or law, plunged us into a bloody conflict.

When, during the Eighty-second Congress, the Senate was called upon to ratify the peace convention with Germany, Republicans saw to it that the Senate repeated its insistence on congressional approval before more troops may be sent to Europe.

Republicans have long worked to end the flow of strategic materials and manufactured goods to Russia and her Communist satellites. Over protests of the Democrat administration, Republicans in the first session of the Eighty-second Congress secured passage of the Republican Kem amendment barring economic and financial aid to countries exporting arms or military matériel to Communist countries.⁸

Republicans feel it is inconsistent for us to help countries which send war goods to the Reds as long as our servicemen are fighting the Reds in Korea.

The Democrat administration actually ignored the Kem amendment although it was enacted into law. But public demand insisted on some such restrictions.

Democrats in the Eighty-second Congress pushed through the Battle bill which permits the administration to decide for itself whether it will cut off aid. It was soon apparent that the Democrat administration was evading the spirit and intent of the Battle bill.

Therefore, Republican Senator James P. Kem, of Missouri, fought for adoption of a stronger measure. His amendment to the Mutual Security Act of 1952 sought to bar aid to any country receiving financial, economic, or military aid from the United States which *knowingly* permits the export of war matériel to Communist countries.

The Senate adopted his amendment, but when the foreign aid bill went to conference, the House conferees, with Democrats in control, refused to accept it. Senator Kem tried to return the bill to the conferees, but a parliamentary technicality made this move impossible.

Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress initiated a series of resolutions to prevent the recognition of Communist China, to prevent the admission of Red China to the United Nations, and to have the Chinese declared aggressors in Korea. Republicans remember how the Democrat administration's recognition of Russia in 1933 lifted Russia up to a place in the family of nations and permitted her to expand her power to our disadvantage.

Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress continued to expose the sins of Tehran, Yalta, and Potsdam agreements under which the Democrat administrations gave to Russia domination over 800,000,000

⁸ Sec. 1301 of Public Law 45, Third Supplemental Appropriation Act, 1951, approved June 2, 1951.

people and domination of Asia.⁹ Without losing a single soldier Russia extended her domination to one-third of the world.

REPUBLICANS EXPOSE KOREA MISTAKES

Republicans showed how Democrats set the stage for Communist encroachment in Asia by giving up Manchuria and strategic areas to the Russians and by splitting the Korean Peninsula. Republicans showed how Democrats invited disaster when they failed to properly arm South Koreans and withdrew our troops from Korea in 1949, despite a formal warning from House Republicans that the Communists might move in and thereby imperil Japan and the whole Far East.¹⁰

Republicans pointed out that Democrats invited attack in Korea by officially and publicly announcing that Korea was outside the zone we would defend in the Pacific.¹¹

Then, when the Communists attacked only 6 months later, the Democrat President, on his own, reversed himself completely and ordered United States troops to fight in Korea. In truth, the disastrous war in Korea need never have happened.

Thereafter, the Truman administration compounded its tragic mistakes in Korea by tying the hands of the American forces fighting and dying there. So determined was the administration to avoid a military victory in Korea that the President summarily dismissed Gen. Douglas MacArthur whose brilliant strategy at Inchon reversed the Communist drive.

⁹ At Tehran (November 27-December 1, 1943) Roosevelt and Churchill agreed to an invasion of Western Europe, at the same time agreeing not to put American and British forces into Central and Southeastern Europe. This meant that Russia would be the dominant power in those areas following Hitler's defeat.

At Yalta (February 4-11, 1945), in return for Stalin's promise to enter the war against Japan (Russia was at war with Japan less than a week) Roosevelt—

1. Agreed to cession of Kurile Islands, southern Sakhalin, and adjacent islands to Russia.
2. Agreed to status quo in Outer Mongolia (meaning recognition of the Communist state set up by Russia in China's province).
3. Agreed to "pre-eminent" interests in Dairen, Port Arthur, and the Manchurian railways to Russia.
4. Agreed to participation of Byelorussia and the Ukraine as original members of the United Nations, thereby giving three votes to Russia, against one each for the United States and Britain.
5. Agreed to set up a German zone for France, to be carved out of British and American zones, with no contribution from Russia's zone.
6. Agreed to use of German labor and annual deliveries of German goods from current production, as part of the reparations plans.
7. Agreed to split Poland by fixing the Curzon line as the western border of the Soviet Union, thereby ceding to Russia a substantial portion of prewar Poland, with Poland to get German territory in the north and west. The agreement called for the reorganization of the Polish Provisional Government "pledged to the holding of free and unfettered elections." This later proved to be a tragic farce resulting in Communist control of Poland.

At Potsdam (July 17-August 2, 1945) Truman, among other things—

1. Recognized the Russian-satellite government of Poland at the expense of the London anti-Communist government and recognized the provisional Polish administration of Eastern Germany.
2. Agreed to Russian annexation of the northern portion of East Prussia.
3. Agreed to meet reparations claims of the United States, Britain, "and other countries entitled to reparations," from the Western (non-Russian) zones of Germany and from appropriate German external assets; while only Russian reparations claims would be met from the Russian zone and appropriate German external assets, with Russia to settle the reparations claims of Poland from its own share of reparations.
4. Agreed to let Russia get 25 percent of the industrial capital equipment available for reparations in the Western zones on a preferential basis.
5. Agreed to Russia's getting German enterprises and foreign assets in her Russian zone and in Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary, Rumania, and Eastern Austria.
6. Failed to arrange a detailed agreement on the administration of Berlin, especially as regards a land corridor of access to the American zone through Russia's zone surrounding Berlin.

¹⁰ Republicans on the House Foreign Affairs Committee issued this warning on July 26, 1949, in H. Rept. 962, pt. II, the minority report on H. R. 5330, providing economic aid to Korea.

¹¹ On January 12, 1950, Secretary of State Acheson told the National Press Club that in the Pacific our "defensive perimeter runs along the Aleutians to Japan and then goes to the Ryukyus." Korea and Formosa are outside this perimeter and, therefore, were beyond the area Acheson felt was important enough for us to defend. Text of his address appears in the Congressional Record, January 20, 1952, p. 672, of the bound volumes.

An aroused country demanded a searching inquiry which was held jointly by the Senate Armed Services Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Hopelessly compromised by its policy in Korea, the administration was determined that no report on these hearings be forthcoming.

Republicans refused to tolerate such repression and, led by Senator Styles Bridges, eight members of the joint committee [Senators Bridges, Wiley, Smith of New Jersey, Hickenlooper, Knowland, Cain, Brewster, and Flanders] brought in a detailed report which will remain the authoritative document on the most tragic military and diplomatic disaster which the United States has suffered in current times.¹²

In spite of Republican efforts, neither the Democrat administration nor the Democrat-controlled Congress has ever squarely faced the basic issue whether the United States intends to win the war in Korea.

REPUBLICANS FORCE REPUDIATION OF SECRET AGREEMENTS

The Democrat leadership in the Eighty-second Congress made no move to repudiate the secret agreements the Democrat administrations made with Russia.

On the other hand, Senator Arthur V. Watkins, Republican of Utah, Senator William Jenner, Republican of Indiana, and other Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress led the fight, over Democrat opposition, for a reservation to the Japanese peace treaty that specifically repudiated the Yalta agreement in regard to cession of Japanese territory.

This not only was a great victory for Republicans, but also for the future of world peace. It frees this Nation of commitments which only encouraged Communist expansion without retarding it anywhere.

Fearing that the Democrat President had entered into secret agreements with Prime Minister Churchill of Great Britain, House Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress forced adoption of a resolution requesting a full report on the discussions and decisions of Mr. Truman and Mr. Churchill.¹³

REPUBLICANS GUARD THE NATIONAL INTEREST

Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress supported ratification of the security pacts with Japan, New Zealand, and Australia. At the same time, Republicans warned that, if our experience in Korea is any indication, we cannot expect too much from collective security under Democrat leadership.

We supply the manpower, the arms, and the money, but our share in collective decisions has been pitifully small because our leaders have not had the statesmanship to match that of our allies.

Alert to attempts of the Democrat administration to subordinate our laws to their international commitments, Republican Senator John W. Bricker of Ohio proposed a constitutional amendment.¹⁴

His amendment would prevent the use of treaties and executive agreements to override the Constitution and our laws to the detriment

¹² S. Doc. 69, 82d Cong., 1st sess., September 5, 1951.

¹³ H. Res. 514, adopted by House, February 20, 1952.

¹⁴ S. J. Res. 130, introduced February 7, 1952.

of our citizens and our American way of life. Fifty-five Senators joined in support of this amendment. Democrat leadership in the Eighty-second Congress refused to bring the amendment to the floor for consideration.

Of similar nature, Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan, in the Senate and Republicans in the House sought to prevent our State Department from using the defense program to bring about international control of basic materials without authority from Congress.

Republicans also worked to prevent the use of Government propaganda to drum up support for the work and expansion of certain Government programs in foreign countries. By an amendment sponsored by Republican Senator Henry C. Dworshak, of Idaho, the Mutual Security Agency was prohibited from using funds for such self-serving propaganda within the United States.

Under this amendment the Agency must stop the financing of trips abroad of persons and groups for the purpose of publicizing the MSA program on their return.

Outnumbered by Democrats in the Eighty-second Congress and lacking control of the executive branch, Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress were limited in what they could do. At the same time, Republicans won the important battles, just described, largely because they were supported by many Democrat Members of Congress who have lost trust and confidence in their own Democrat administration.

Before we can steer the United States to its rightful position in world affairs, we must have Republican control of the Government.

FAILURE TO SECURE THE NATION'S SAFETY

The Democrat Eighty-second Congress faced the stern fact that, after 6 years of unparalleled military expenditures, our national security was in greater danger than ever—and still is.

Committees of the Eighty-second Congress heard Government officials testify that we are inadequately prepared.

General Vandenberg told a House committee in January 1952 that Soviet air forces now have in combat units "several thousand more planes" than the United States.¹⁵

General Collins said we are short of ammunition.¹⁶

General Hudelson said we "can't stand up against the Communist hordes" in Korea.¹⁷

General Bradley said that Russia can "overrun Europe."¹⁸

The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee concluded, after hearing testimony from top defense officials in June 1952, that we do not have the strength we need.¹⁹

These conclusions indict the Democrat administration as incompetent to manage the National Defense Establishment. The admin-

¹⁵ Hearings by House Appropriations Subcommittee on Department of the Air Force Appropriations for 1953, January 1952, p. 11.

¹⁶ Testimony before Senate Appropriations Committee, May 5, 1952, p. 349.

¹⁷ Washington Times-Herald, June 9, 1952.

¹⁸ Testimony before Senate Appropriations Subcommittee in May 1952, revealed in New York Herald Tribune, June 15, 1952.

¹⁹ Interim Report on Defense Mobilization: Adequacy of Our Air Power, Thirty-ninth Report of the Senate Preparedness Subcommittee, 82d Cong., 2d sess.

istration has had the money and the authority to do the job and it has failed miserably.

The cost of this failure is, of course, appalling. Republicans had little choice but to support measures to strengthen our national defense, although these current huge outlays could have been avoided if there had been competent leadership in years past.

The Armed Forces were given a pay raise and the Marine Corps strength was increased.

Additional money was voted for atomic development and for Air Corps expansion toward a 143-wing force. The weaknesses of the administration's stockpiling program were exposed. The Rubber Act, enacted by the Eightieth Congress, was extended. The Navy got the go-ahead signal for a second giant aircraft carrier.

The Eighty-second Congress set up a new system for military reserves aimed at a "ready" reserve of trained men and a "stand-by" reserve.

In this act Congress sought to protect the servicemen returning from Korea from the inequities caused by the administration in recalling them for a second period of service. At the same time Congress became once again concerned by the repeated attempts of the administration to control or federalize the National Guard.

This Congress voted more than \$46.6 billion for national defense for the year ending June 30, 1953. Congress also provided the Defense Department with \$2.3 billion for construction of United States military bases in this country and abroad. It also gave the Atomic Energy Commission \$2.9 billion for atomic weapons. These three items total \$51.8 billion for direct United States defense. In addition, we provided our allies with \$4.2 billion for direct military assistance.

REPUBLICAN PROVISIONS FOR DEFENSE OBSTRUCTED

A considerable part of this enormous expenditure could have been saved and a strong defense organization would have been well on its way by now, if the Democrat President had not obstructed prior Republican efforts to increase our military strength.

This is a matter of record. It is not opinion. It is not Republican hindsight.

Foreseeing the growth of Soviet power and the decline of ours under the Democrat administration, the Republican Eightieth Congress initiated and passed the act unifying the Armed Forces. The Democrat administration has yet to achieve real unification.

The Republican Eightieth Congress provided for stockpiling of critical materials. The Democrat administration neglected to carry out the act and thereby came under fire of Democrat-controlled committees of the Eighty-second Congress.²⁰

The Republican Eightieth Congress voted \$189 million for a new flush-deck aircraft carrier, only to have the ship scrapped by the Truman administration after over \$4½ million had been spent on laying the keel.²¹

²⁰ Senate Preparedness Subcommittee's Fourth Report on Nickel, Sixth Report on Tin, and Twenty-seventh Report on Tungsten, all issued during the 82d Cong.

²¹ Scrapped April 23, 1949. See testimony of Rear Adm. H. N. Wallin, Department of Defense appropriations, 1952. Hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, House of Representatives, 82d Cong., 1st sess., pt. III, p. 278.

Three years later the Truman administration acted to correct this great mistake. Work on the construction of the carrier *Forrestal* was begun July 14, 1952, at Newport News, Va. This is actually the carrier ordered built by the Republican Eightieth Congress, but it will cost \$218,000,000 because of the increases in prices during the past 3 years. Consequently, the President's wrong was belatedly righted at a cost of \$29,000,000 to the taxpayers to say nothing of the loss of 3 years of time.

The Republican Eightieth Congress set the strength of our Armed Forces at slightly over 2 million men. But the Secretary of Defense and the President insisted these men were not needed and did not call them until the Korean war began. Instead of having over 2 million trained men at the start of the Korean war, we had less than 1,400,000.

Republicans, alarmed at the decline of our Air Force from 273 air groups to 38, set up a Joint Congressional Aviation Policy Board in 1947 to study the problem. On recommendation of this Board for a 70-group peacetime force the Republican Eightieth Congress, over Mr. Truman's opposition, voted in 1948 to increase Air Force appropriations by \$822,000,000 so that an orderly build-up could begin at once. On June 25, 1948, Mr. Truman ordered the Air Force budget cut to 48 groups.

Although Republicans lost control of Congress after 1948, they continued to press for an increase in air power. In the fiscal 1950 Military Appropriation Act, Republicans supported an increase of \$735,754,000 for the Air Force over and above what Mr. Truman requested in his budget.

Mr. Truman then issued an order impounding the \$735 million and his Defense Secretary impounded an additional \$243 million intended for the Air Force. Republicans led the battle for passage of legislation reauthorizing a 70-group Air Force, but the President and his Democrat lieutenants in the Senate bottled the bill in committee.

Not until the Korean war began did the administration agree to a 70-group Air Force. By that time Democrat inflation had raised the costs of defense to almost prohibitive heights.

Now the Democrat administration is trying to make up for its earlier mistakes by demanding a 143-wing Air Force. Such a force takes years to build. If Republican legislation and advice had been followed, we would have been well on our way to strong air power, and at far less cost than today.

WASTE AND INEFFICIENCY IN NATIONAL DEFENSE

In the Eighty-first and Eighty-second Congresses, Republicans continually fought to trim the waste out of defense spending so we could increase our fighting strength.

A particularly flagrant example of waste and inefficiency in aircraft production was described by Senator Homer Ferguson, Republican of Michigan. He showed that in the 3 years covered by fiscal years 1951 through 1953, Congress appropriated \$31¼ billion for procurement of aircraft and related materials.

However, less than one-half of this stupendous sum is for the purchase of new airplanes, only \$14.4 billion in round figures. Nine and one-quarter billion of the total has been designated for spare parts.

In addition, nearly \$2 billion more for spare parts is carried in another appropriation, or a total of \$11¼ billion for parts alone.

This means that for every 100 new planes turned over to the Air Force and placed on an airfield, the equivalent of 64 planes is stored on the same field in the form of spare parts.²² This policy was questioned by Republicans in view of the rapid changes in the design of airplanes.

In civil defense as well as military defense, the Democrat administration revealed itself to the Eighty-second Congress as incompetent. Civil defense has been a mockery with the administration unable to formulate a practical plan while padding the Civil Defense Administration with political appointees.

Capping its record of incompetency in building up our national defense, the Democrat administration allowed our atomic secrets to fall in the hands of Russian espionage agents. There was little the Eighty-second Congress could do to retrieve this loss, except to record the disaster in a report by the House Un-American Activities Committee entitled "The Shameful Years."²³

The Eighty-second Congress looked into the Army's disgraceful handling of the Koje Island prison compound where the American general was captured by his Communist prisoners, and the U. N. commandant successfully blackmailed by the Reds. The Eighty-second Congress looked into the refusal of Air Force Reserve officers to take their planes up.

Nevertheless, the Eighty-second Congress was unable to alter our defense picture to any appreciable extent. Our national security is still in danger.

FAILURE TO PROTECT THE UNITED STATES FROM COMMUNIST TREACHERY

Throughout the Eighty-second Congress, the Democrat administration continued its stubborn resistance to the exposure of Communists, fellow-travelers, other subversives and their sympathizers in Government.

This is but part of its long record which coddled Communists at home and appeased them abroad, fought exposure of subversives, employed congressional investigations to whitewash suspects, and permitted Communist spies to enter the country and even to serve in Government.

Such policies gave Russia possession of atomic secrets, built up the Communist menace to the free world, caused the needless sacrifice of American lives in Korea, and put upon us a crushing burden for national defense.

Elizabeth T. Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, both former couriers for a Communist espionage apparatus, testified under oath that Communists operated from within the offices of our Government.

Lax security precautions of the administration permitted Klaus Fuchs, Harry Gold, the Rosenbergs, Sobell, Greenglass; and Slack to steal atomic information and hand it over to the Russians.²⁴

²² Congressional Record, July 5, 1952, p. 9634.

²³ H. Rept. 1229, 82d Cong., 2d sess., January 8, 1952.

²⁴ See footnote 23.

Soviet espionage agents entered and left this country unmolested and they still roam our country.

Henry Julian Wadleigh confessed that he passed State Department secrets to a Soviet agent while employed in the Department of State. Alger Hiss is now in prison for perjury when he lied about doing the same thing.

DEMOCRATS RESIST EXPOSURE OF SECURITY RISKS

The Democrat administration employed every device to resist congressional efforts to get security risks removed from the Government payroll. It set up its own loyalty boards to keep information secret and to control proceedings against persons of doubtful loyalty. It denied files to Congress. It permitted many suspects to resign from one Government department so that they could transfer to other departments and thus remain concealed. It permitted others to resign and go on Government pension. The Department of Justice whitewashed the Amerasia case. Only twice in six long years did the State Department use legislation designed to give it the power to remove suspected employees.

It is common knowledge that the administration never abated its efforts to protect persons in the Government who were seriously challenged as security risks. After a searching inquiry, a Senate subcommittee made clear its lack of confidence in Philip C. Jessup for the post of American delegate to the Sixth United Nations Assembly. Notwithstanding this rejection in substance of the President's nomination, the President gave Mr. Jessup an interim appointment after the adjournment of Congress. Protesting the President's arbitrary appointment of a person who failed to gain the confidence of the Senate as is required by the Constitution, 38 Republican Senators joined in Senate Resolution 239 which in effect called upon the President to recall Mr. Jessup on the ground that he does not command the confidence of the American people.²⁵

No one knows the exact number of Government employees removed as security risks, or how many still remain in Government service. Vice President Alben W. Barkley was quoted in the press as admitting "2,500 to 3,500 persons had been separated from Government service after loyalty inquiries."²⁶

REPUBLICANS EXPOSE COMMUNISTS

What cleansing of Government that has occurred has largely been due to the vigorous and relentless pressure of Republican Members of Congress.

Alger Hiss, mainly through the efforts of Senators Karl Mundt and Richard M. Nixon, is now behind prison bars. Republican pressure brought the imprisonment of Carl A. Marzani who concealed his Communist Party membership, and the indictment of William W. Remington.

Republicans on the Senate Judiciary Internal Security Subcommittee of the Eighty-second Congress supported legislation to protect the country against subversives and took an active part in the investigation of Owen Lattimore's influence in the State Department.

²⁵ Congressional Record, 82d Cong., 2d sess., January 10, 1952, p. 62.

²⁶ New York Times, August 25, 1951.

An Immigration and Naturalization Act, making the first codification of past patchwork laws and protecting the Nation against the admission of undesirable aliens, was passed by a nonpartisan vote over the politically inspired veto of the President.

Notwithstanding exposures of many security risks of great danger to our national safety, the President has repeatedly denied there were Communists in Government and labeled such charges as mere red herrings.²⁷

Instead of conducting a searching investigation of the records of suspected individuals repeatedly reported by Senator Joseph McCarthy, the administration, its lieutenants in Congress, and its propagandists used every effort to vilify the Wisconsin Senator.

The President covered his refusal to give Congress the files and loyalty information with the statement that he believes it would be detrimental to the public interest.

Viewing the great damage done to our people through Communist treachery, Republicans believe it would have been very much in the public interest for the President to cooperate fully with Congress in cleansing the Government. Throughout the Eighty-second Congress Republicans continued to work to that end.

FAILURE TO STOP INFLATION, ELIMINATE WASTEFUL SPENDING, AND REDUCE TAXES

The Eighty-second Congress, under Democrat control, continued down the deadly path of high Government spending and high taxation—the road to national destruction.

This Congress had no answer to the pleas of our people for relief from the inflation which crushes us daily. Instead of dealing with the causes of inflation the Eighty-second Congress dealt only with its effects.

CONTROLS LEGISLATION

The Democrat administration fought hard to keep all its economic controls for two more years. Thousands of commodities were selling below ceiling price, yet the administration insisted it must have power to control prices. The Eighty-second Congress extended price, wage, and rent controls (in critical defense areas) for 10 months. In noncritical areas rent controls would end September 30, 1952, unless the local governing body takes action to continue them. This Congress also continued the authority to allocate scarce materials, so all business can get its fair share.

By a number of amendments to the Defense Production Act, Republicans were able to lessen the stranglehold the Democrat administration had put upon free enterprise. Republicans continued to fight for increased production unhampered by Government red tape as one sound way to get rid of inflation. Republicans also exposed the tactics of the administration which included many inflationary steps to create the appearance of prosperity in order to influence the 1952 elections, while demanding more controls to keep inflation in check.

²⁷ Mr. Truman cried "red herring" on August 5, August 12, September 2, September 13, December 9, and December 16, 1948; May 26, 1949; and January 27 and February 13, 1950.

The Democrat Eighty-second Congress sharply disapproved the President's brazen manipulation of the Wage Stabilization Board, and therefore created a new board whose members would have to be confirmed by the Senate.

All in all, the Democrat Eighty-second Congress indicated discontent with the administration's lack of ability to reduce the cost of living, but without cooperation of the executive branch, the Congress was helpless to work its will.

REPUBLICANS PROTECT DOMESTIC PRODUCERS

Republicans in this Congress successfully forced retention of section 104 of the Defense Production Act. This section authorizes the Secretary of Agriculture to regulate importations of dairy products, fats, oils, peanuts, rice and rice products so as to prevent injury to our own farmers and businessmen.

As another move to protect our domestic producers and to assure maximum food production for the entire Nation, Republicans voted to continue Government loan support of prices for cotton, wheat, corn, rice, tobacco, and peanuts at 90 percent of parity through 1954.

The law provides that parity for these six crops will be determined, through 1955, by whichever of two present formulas gives the higher price. The "sliding scale" parity program was set aside for the 1953 and 1954 crop years. Parity is a price determined by the Government to be fair to farmers in terms of things they buy.

In other ways Republicans fought for safeguards for American industry, agriculture, and labor. Republicans scored a major victory when the Eighty-second Congress overwhelmingly voted to include the Republican peril-point formula in extending reciprocal trade-agreements authority.

Under the peril-point provision restrictions are put upon imported goods when their volume hurts our own American producers. Republicans contend that products of underpaid foreign labor should not be admitted to this country on terms that endanger the wage standards of American workmen.

The Republican Eightieth Congress originally enacted this principle into law, but the Democrat President refused to abide by it, and the Democrat Congress that came into power in 1949 promptly repealed the provision.

Likewise, a Republican-sponsored amendment making the escape-clause procedure part of the trade-agreements program was adopted over the strenuous opposition of the Democrat administration. This amendment permits industries damaged by floods of foreign imports to appeal to the United States Tariff Commission. The President must either take action recommended by the Commission or must tell Congress and the people why he refuses to give relief to American citizens.

Republicans took other action in the world trade field as it affects our program of allocating scarce materials. House Republicans formed four committees to look into the activities of the International Materials Conference. These Republicans discovered that the IMC is using the defense emergency to bring about international planning and international rationing of basic materials, including some that

are produced in the United States, with the result that it was costing Americans thousands of jobs.

Republicans, adhering to the principle that our industries are entitled to justice in the scramble for key materials around the world, battled in the Senate and House to prevent discrimination against American producers and labor by the IMC.

As a result of Republican efforts in the Eighty-second Congress, workers in the automobile plants of Michigan and workers in many other industries now have a better chance to hold their jobs.

Republicans will not allow the American economy to be throttled or world government to be fastened upon the American people by measures taken without congressional authority or under the pretext of national defense.

APPROPRIATIONS AND ECONOMY

The Democrat Eighty-second Congress went along with the administration's high spending program.

Republicans, on the other hand, fought for thrift and prudence in the management of our Government. House Republicans at a party conference on February 25, 1952, unanimously endorsed a proposal calling upon President Truman to withdraw his \$85 billion budget and send a new one to Congress which would limit Federal spending to anticipated Federal revenue (\$71 billion).

The Senate Republican Policy Committee declared it would not support another increase in taxes and demanded less Government spending to balance the budget.

On March 31, 1952, Senate Republicans at a party conference voted in favor of a single-package appropriation bill which permits Congress to balance appropriations with estimated revenues.

Democrat leadership in the Congress and in the administration ignored these sensible suggestions. The result was that the Eighty-second Congress approved a Government spending program that still leaves us in the red.

As they have done for years past, Republicans as a party in House and Senate carried the fight for economy in Federal spending. This is the only effective opposition in Congress seeking to reduce the excessive spending of the Truman administration.

In the Senate, Senators Styles Bridges and Homer Ferguson, and in the House, Representatives Taber and Wigglesworth, together with many other Republicans in the Senate and House, and in company with some like-minded Democrats who fear financial insolvency, succeeded in lopping \$8.4 billion from appropriations and almost \$2 billion in authorizations from the President's budget program for the fiscal year 1953. These savings were accomplished over the bitter resistance of the administration, and without retarding in the slightest the military preparedness program of the country.

Even so, the Democrat administration will still be spending more (an estimated \$81 billion) than it can possibly collect as taxes (an estimated \$68 billion).²⁸ Only a complete Republican administration can stop this headlong rush to financial disaster.

Not only does Democrat leadership refuse to cut its budget to fit its revenue, but it also refuses to simplify costly Government organ-

²⁸ As estimated by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation.

ization. Little was done during the Eighty-second Congress to reorganize Federal departments and agencies for more economical operation. Several years have elapsed since the Hoover Commission, which was established by the Eightieth Congress, made its recommendations, but the Federal Government is still a wasteful, expensive bureaucracy.

The reorganization proposals submitted by the Democrat President to the Eighty-second Congress were aimed more at eliminating the Senate's power to approve or reject his appointments than at large-scale economies. Half of the Hoover Commission's proposals still have not been acted upon—4 years after they were recommended.

DEMOCRATS MISMANAGE POSTAL SERVICES

Not only has the administration failed to achieve efficiency and economy in the Post Office Department, but its mismanagement has caused raises in postal rates and reductions in service. It has doubled the rate of the penny post card, cut down the acceptable size and weight of parcel-post packages, and reduced the mail delivery services to the public.

GOVERNMENT WASTE

Instead of economy, the Eighty-second Congress found glaring examples of Government waste. While running the flaxseed price support program the Agriculture Department was flimflammed out of 2 to 3 million dollars for dirt. The dirt was spread under flaxseed in freight cars and Agriculture inspectors failed to notice it.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration was reported to have spent \$200,000 on a set of ruins intended to teach civil defense methods. The Atomic Energy Commission, in haste to prepare its Nevada atom bomb site, paid plumbers as much as \$756 a week and common laborers as much as \$250 a week.

Congress found waste in construction of Air Force barracks, air bases in French Morocco and near the North Pole.

It is clear that as long as the Democrat Party is in the saddle, we can expect no relief from high, wasteful spending.

REPUBLICANS MAKE CONSTRUCTIVE RECORD

On the other hand, the Republican Party proved in the Eightieth Congress that it can balance the budget. The Republican Eightieth Congress cut proposed spending by \$6 billion, reduced our national debt by \$7 billion, and wound up with a surplus of nearly \$8½ billion.

By this prudent management Republicans were able to cut our income taxes and take several million people off the tax rolls. There was no suffering in the country as a result of Republican economy.

National defense and all essential services were maintained. But much waste was eliminated and the swollen bureaucracy was reduced.

TAXES

The Democrat Eighty-second Congress in its first session imposed the third tax increase since the Korean war began. As a result the Federal Government, together with State and local governments, now takes one-third of our earnings from us. The Federal Government alone now takes for taxes over one-fourth of the Nation's income.

During the second session of the Congress the Democrat administration demanded \$5 billion more taxes, but Republicans stood firm against any further tax boost.

After denouncing rulings made by the Internal Revenue Bureau which allowed persons who "loaned" thousands of dollars to the Democratic National Committee to write off these "loans" as losses and thus escape taxation, Senator Williams, of Delaware, and other Republicans succeeded in amending the law to prohibit this political favoritism in the future.²⁹

REPUBLICANS STAND AGAINST TAX INCREASES

The entire Republican membership of the Senate Finance Committee refused to consider legislation increasing taxes. They were fully supported in this by Senator Eugene D. Millikin, chairman of the Senate Republican conference, Senator Robert A. Taft, chairman of the Republican policy committee, and Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., chairman of the Republican policy committee in the House.

REPUBLICANS REDUCE TAXES

The Republican Party has an excellent record on taxes. We promised tax reduction in the 1946 election. We kept that promise in the Eightieth Congress.

Over the President's veto, the Republican Eightieth Congress cut individual income taxes by \$4.8 billion a year, with most of the benefits going to taxpayers with incomes under \$5,000 a year.

More than that, under the Republican Eightieth Congress tax law 7 million people in the lower income brackets no longer had to pay any Federal income tax. Except for reductions in certain war levies in 1945, it is the only general tax reduction the American people have had in a generation.

ADMINISTRATION TAX COLLECTORS SPREAD CORRUPTION

Even as the Democrat administration demanded more taxes from us, its own tax-collecting agency, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, was shot through with favoritism and corruption. Republican Senator John J. Williams, of Delaware, spearheaded the drive for congressional investigation of this agency, and the Eighty-second Congress exposed one scandal after another in the Bureau. As a result of these disclosures, some of its top officials were convicted and many other employees have resigned or been fired.

Republicans in the Congress were appalled to learn that influential friends of the Democrat Party, plus some gangsters and crooks, escaped paying income taxes entirely or were able to settle with the Government for a fraction of what they owe in taxes. In contrast, honest taxpayers were harassed by petty officials.

To sum up, the Democrat Eighty-second Congress was unable to lead us out of the economic whirlpool we are in. More spending

²⁹ By attacking the Williams amendment (to the legislative appropriation bill of 1953, H. R. 7313) on the technical ground of "germaneness," Democrats sought to kill this prohibition against political favoritism. Senator Ellender, Democrat of Louisiana, raised the point of order. The vote holding the amendment germane was: Yeas, Republican 32, Democrat 15; Nays, Republican 0, Democrat 25. The Williams amendment thereafter became law (Public Law 471, 82d Cong., 2d sess.) by a vote of 67 yeas to 2 nays. For details see Congressional Record, 82d Cong., 2d sess., June 27, 1952, pp. 8188 and 8500.

leads to more taxes. Higher taxes result in higher costs and higher prices for all we buy, including Government purchases.

This requires more Government spending, and the inflationary spiral goes up and up. Loose Government fiscal policies invite tax fixing and corruption. Controls lead to black markets, favoritism, and more corruption.

The Democrat administration has forced this vicious cycle and these evils on the American people in the name of prosperity.

On June 30, 1952 (the end of the fiscal year 1952), Harry Truman had been President for 7½ years. In those 7½ years, Truman's administration collected from the American people a total of *twice* the amount taken by the Roosevelt administration in 12 years, and more than *three times* the amount collected in 144 years by *all* Presidents in American history prior to Franklin Roosevelt.

In actual figures, Truman's total tax take in 7½ years is \$310 billion, as against Roosevelt's \$155 billion in 12 years, and only \$91 billion for all previous 30 Presidents, or \$310 billion in 7½ years against \$246 billion in 156 years (with Roosevelt included).

Our only hope for a change in such reckless handling of the people's money is a Republican Congress and administration.

CORRUPTION AND FAVORITISM SPREAD THROUGHOUT DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION

Much of the activity of the Democrat Eighty-second Congress centered around the exposure of corruption, favoritism, and political misconduct in the Democrat administration. Constant pressure by our Republican Members compelled Congress to expose a trail of corruption, crime, favoritism, and wanton betrayal of public trust, such as never before has appeared in this Republic.

CONGRESS INVESTIGATES CORRUPTION

In this activity some patriotic Democrats, who see their party going morally bankrupt under alien-minded leadership, joined us. Some 230 investigations and probes into administration agencies were made, by far the greatest number in all history.

Nearly every agency of the Government was found to be tarnished by irregularities. The spotlight turned on the Agriculture, Treasury, Justice, Post Office, and Defense Departments, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, Maritime Board, War Assets Administration, Surplus Property Administration, and the Office of Alien Property Custodian.

Mink coats, deep freezers, polaroid cameras, free vacations, and other gifts to public officials and employees merely symbolized the deeper roots of fraud, crime, and corruption. How many millions of dollars of the people's money in cash and property were stolen may never become fully known. A Republican administration will expose the record for public inspection.

REPUBLICANS EXPOSE CORRUPTION

Many of the exposures of wrongdoing were accomplished by the work and pressure of Republicans in the House and Senate. Individ-

ual Members, flooded with reports of immorality in the Government, made personal investigations and gathered much evidence to force Democrat-controlled committees to take action.

Republican Representative Kenneth B. Keating, of New York, sponsored the resolution which resulted in an investigation of the administration of the Justice Department. J. Howard McGrath, Attorney General at the time, has since been fired by the President. That investigation, being made by the Chelf subcommittee, is still in progress.

Much credit for exposure of betrayal of public trust in the Bureau of Internal Revenue goes to Republican Senator John J. Williams, of Delaware. As far back as 1947 the Democrat administration fought efforts of the Republican Eightieth Congress to explore conditions in the Bureau's Boston office. Republican charges of corruption there were proven in 1951, 4 years later.

Scores of officials and employees in the Bureau of Internal Revenue all across the country have been imprisoned, indicted, or fired as a result of the exposures of tax shake-downs and income-tax fixing. The administration tried to belittle these scandals and grudgingly proposed a reorganization of the Internal Revenue Bureau. The reorganization in theory substitutes the civil service merit system for the political selection of internal revenue collectors and is supposed to provide for a continuous check on their conduct and performance.

Under spur of our Republican Members, the Democrat Eighty-second Congress revealed favoritism and influence in the Democrat-controlled Reconstruction Finance Corporation; the sale of postmasterships in Mississippi; profiteering in leases of grain storage facilities; "rigging" of grain prices; fraud in the handling of national defense contracts; scandals in the disposition of Government-owned tankers; shady deals in disposal of surplus Government property, and links between prominent figures in the Democrat administration and the underworld.

DEMOCRATS FAIL TO CLEAN HOUSE

And every step of the way the Democrat administration tried to cover up its wrongdoing and block the representatives of the people in the Eighty-second Congress in their effort to drive the rascals out. The Democrat President charged that claims of wrongdoing were "asinine," but when he became swamped with evidence of fraud, bribery, tax fixes and corruption on a national scale the President promised to clean house.

Newbold Morris was appointed to clean house, but soon Mr. Morris and the then Attorney General Howard McGrath clashed over procedure. Both were fired and, as the Democrat Eighty-second Congress adjourned, the clean-up job had fizzled out.

DEMOCRAT ADMINISTRATION RESORTS TO SECRECY

When the scandals of the Democrat administration were being exposed by many searchlights in the Eighty-second Congress, the President issued his Executive order of September 1951, clamping censorship upon all Government officials and agencies.³⁰

³⁰ Executive Order 10290, September 24, 1951.

Here was the climax of the practices of secrecy and of withholding information which the New Deal and the Fair Deal had been following increasingly for 20 years.

The excuse given for the President's order was that it was to prevent the disclosure of information, like military secrets, which might give aid and comfort to our Nation's enemies. But the terms of the President's directive were so broad that department heads could determine for themselves the information they wished to withhold even though it might be only remotely connected with national security. This was proved almost at once when Michael DiSalle, Price Administrator, restricted information which might tend to embarrass officials of his agency.

Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress already had run into the wall of secrecy the Government has been building around its operations. High administration officials denied their files to the King subcommittee investigating Internal Revenue Bureau scandals. In like manner the Chelf subcommittee of the House Judiciary Committee was hampered by cover-up tactics to prevent its investigation of the Department of Justice.

The Treasury Department withheld its files from the first grand jury that investigated official actions of Internal Revenue Collector James P. Finnegan in St. Louis, Mo. As a result of Republican efforts the files went to a second grand jury, which then indicted Finnegan. Finnegan was later convicted and sentenced for improper activities as tax collector.

The Department of Agriculture refused to give facts to the Senate Agriculture Committee in its investigation into reports that millions of dollars of undue profits were made by an Egyptian cotton firm.

The President himself withheld loyalty files on Government employees from the Senate committee investigating the State Department's failure to weed out subversives and moral perverts. Public criticism and the constant hammering by Congress forced the President to relent slightly. He permitted committee members to examine 81 files, but they had to go to the White House to see them and they were not allowed to take any notes.

Restrictions of such a nature are of little help to committees in their efforts to make certain that Government agencies do not harbor persons harmful to national security. Countless other loyalty files are still forbidden to Congress.

SECRECY IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Likewise, secrecy marks the administration's numerous international conferences. Secret commitments sometimes leak out but usually from foreign sources. Even the telephone directory of the 1945 Yalta Conference, where Alger Hiss "advised" the President, was marked "restricted" until recently. An indignant Republican Senator got hold of it and put it in the Congressional Record for all to see.

Secrecy still surrounds the full story on Pearl Harbor. Important files have been "lost," papers are still sealed at Hyde Park, and many "missing links" still cloud this monumental betrayal of the Nation's security.

We still do not know how the decision to involve us in the Korean war was made, and what events occurred prior to the President's order plunging us into that war without approval of Congress.

The State Department's so-called white paper refers to a "surprise" attack by the North Koreans upon the South Koreans. But Assistant Secretary of State John D. Hickerson, testifying before the Senate Appropriations Committee, remarked that the State Department was not completely surprised by the attack.

We still do not have the reports of Admiral Roscoe K. Hillenkoetter and other officers of the military intelligence agencies on the danger of attack in Korea. The admiral was subsequently relieved of his post as head of the Central Intelligence Agency and ultimately transferred to a minor command, a practice followed on many other occasions with witnesses likely to prove embarrassing to the administration.

For 18 months the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in the Eighty-second Congress questioned many witnesses, under oath, in an effort to piece together the undermining process through which China was delivered into the hands of Communists.

The subcommittee confirmed charges of communism in the Institute of Pacific Relations. It concluded from all the evidence that since the 1930's State Department Adviser Owen Lattimore had been "a conscious, articulate instrument of the Soviet conspiracy."³¹

This committee turned its record over to the Department of Justice with a request that a grand jury be asked to decide whether perjury was committed before the subcommittee by Mr. Lattimore and diplomat John P. Davies, Jr.

Even the General Accounting Office, which Congress created to see that Government spending is done according to law, has been blocked in its efforts to obtain facts. It has reported there are many cases in which contracts are tainted with fraud.

Republicans in the Eighty-second Congress and on other occasions contended that this evil growth of Government censorship denies to Congress and the public the information needed for legislation and proper understanding of the public business.

Republicans hold that censorship blocks a free press and other channels of information indispensable to a well-informed citizenry. We believe that censorship covers up corruption. It destroys the principle that Government officials and employees are servants of the people, not their masters. If long permitted, secrecy and censorship will destroy a free country.

DEMOCRAT CONGRESS FAILED TO KEEP PROMISES

The Democrat Eighty-second Congress, like the Democrat Eighty-first Congress, failed to make good on the promises it gave to the people in the 1948 platform. This failure deserves public criticism because Democrats outnumbered Republicans in House and Senate, and controlled the machinery of Congress as well as of the executive branch.

Four years ago the President of the United States, in a midnight speech accepting nomination by the Democrat National Convention,

³¹ S. Rept. 2050, 82d Cong., 2d sess., July 2, 1952.

dramatically announced that he was calling the Republican Eightieth Congress back into special session to enact Federal aid to education, compulsory health insurance, universal military training, Taft-Hartley repeal, antipoll tax, antilynch bill, compulsory FEPC, anti-trust legislation, authority to regulate commodity exchange speculation, expansion of Federal Reserve Board powers over bank credit, and to approve the St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty.

In making this announcement, the President said—

they could do this job in 15 days if they want to do it * * * [but] * * * they are going to try to dodge their responsibility.

In the intervening 4 years the President has had *two Democrat-controlled Congresses and not a single one of these 11 specific requests has been enacted* although the President insisted the Republican Eightieth Congress should pass them "in 15 days."

The Democrats promised peace in 1948, but within 2 years their President plunged us into war in Korea, a war which has cost many American lives and billions of dollars.

It seems to be the Democrat Party practice to promise peace as was done in the platforms of 1916, 1940, and 1948, and then lead the Nation into subsequent wars.

The Democrats promised to curb inflation. During the Eighty-second Congress the cost of living reached an all-time high. The dollar fell to an all-time low. The Democrat Eighty-second Congress sponsored no legislation to stop these trends.

The Democrat President merely sought more controls over American life while he supported measures in the executive branch which directly fed the fires of inflation.

The Democrats pledged to reduce taxes. Since 1948 Democrat Congresses imposed three tax increases on our people, and the President calls for still higher taxes.

The Democrats promised to reduce the public debt. During the Eighty-second Congress the public debt just about reached the legal limit and Government spending still increases.

Democrats boast of prosperity—but their prosperity rests upon Government spending, increasing debt, mounting taxes, skyrocketing prices, and war.

These are but a few of the long list of Democrat administration promises that have not been kept by Congresses under its control.

DEMOCRATS FAIL ON CIVIL RIGHTS

The Democrat Eighty-second Congress, like every Democrat Congress in the last 20 years, has totally failed to pass civil-rights legislation. In every one of its party conventions for the last 20 years, it has made extravagant promises to enact legislation to protect civil rights. This is a cynical Democrat Party fraud to attract the Negro and liberal vote in the North, while the party slavishly appeases the conservative elements in the South.

Democrat campaigners blame filibusters in the Senate for their failure to pass civil-rights laws. They never say that southern Democrats conduct these filibusters and that the Democrat administration counts upon them to save the administration from having to pass the laws they lavishly promised to get minority votes.

Before March 17, 1949, Senate rules permitted filibusters at two stages of its proceedings, once on a "motion to consider" a bill, and again on actual debate of the bill. In the second stage debate could be ended by two-thirds of the Senators present and voting and thus a vote on civil-rights laws could be forced.

But filibusters on motions to consider could continue indefinitely. No Senate rule could end them. And this loophole allowing indefinite filibustering went uncorrected by Democrat Congresses year after year even when they had full control of the lawmaking machinery and proceedings.

It was this double filibuster which the late Senator Kenneth S. Wherry, Republican of Nebraska, sought to end and did end. Over stubborn opposition he forced a change in the rule, making it possible for the first time in the history of the Senate to end filibusters on motions to consider. The price he had to pay for this much progress was the provision that required a "constitutional" two-thirds of the Senate (64 votes) to end these filibusters.

This two-thirds requirement stands as a strong block against civil-rights legislation because a favorable vote of 64 Senators is hard to get over southern Democrat opposition. But if the Wherry rule had not been adopted, there would now be no provision at all for breaking filibusters.

Although Democrat Party platforms for years have pledged legislation to give the people of the District of Columbia a right to vote and home-rule legislation, bills to accomplish these purposes also died in the Eighty-second Congress as in previous Democrat-controlled Congresses.

REPUBLICAN RECORD ON CIVIL RIGHTS

In contrast, the Republican Party from its birth has stood for liberty as against slavery, for the equal right to vote, to work, to advance in life, and to be protected under law regardless of race, religion, color, or country of origin.

Republican Congresses carried through the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery, the fourteenth amendment prohibiting abridgment of citizens' rights, and the fifteenth amendment guaranteeing equal rights for whites and Negroes alike.

While Democrats make empty promises of civil-rights legislation, Republicans produce results. By Republican-sponsored legislation in many States, all discriminations on account of race, color, or national origins were prohibited. The Republican Party has a sincere and honorable record for keeping faith with these high principles.

Here is the proof of Republican performance. In 11 States which have fair employment practice laws, 7 were enacted by Republican legislatures and Republican governors; 1 by a Republican Senate and Republican governor and 1 by a Republican legislature. In the history of the House only one FEPC bill has been adopted. This was on February 23, 1950. The Republicans supported it 124 to 42 while the Democrats voted against it 134 to 116.

The record of the Eighty-second Congress makes it crystal-clear that Democrat promises of civil-rights laws are empty gestures intended only to lure votes.

REPUBLICAN EIGHTIETH CONGRESS KEPT PROMISES

The people can depend upon the Republican Party keeping its pledges. (The Republican Eightieth Congress, carried out every single pledge Republicans made to the voters who elected them.) This Republican Congress has an unparalleled record of performance in meeting the Nation's most critical problems. Consider the record which was grossly misrepresented by the Democrat administration.

The Republican Eightieth Congress launched the program to stop communism after the Democrat administration had appeased and favored Communists at home and abroad.

It launched the Marshall plan; voted aid to Greece and Turkey; and passed the Vandenberg resolution which became the foundation for the entire North Atlantic plan to keep Europe free.

It unified the armed services; authorized a 70-group Air Force which the President blocked; enacted a national service law; passed 188 bills recognizing the just needs of veterans; appropriated more money for soil conservation, reclamation, and rural electrification than had any previous Congress.

It passed the first long-range farm program; increased social-security benefits; and set up national institutes for heart and cancer diseases and dental research.

It created special Senate and House committees to aid small business, and liberated our people from 76,000 Government rules and regulations, thereby giving the economy the opportunity to expand free of Government restrictions. It passed the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Act providing fair and just procedures for peaceful settlement of labor disputes and safeguarding workers' rights. In subsequent Congresses we offered amendments to improve the act in the light of experience, including amendments sought by labor leaders, but the Democrat Party, in control of the legislative program, blocked their adoption. Democrats preferred to keep labor relations as a political issue rather than to improve them.

Republicans in the Eightieth Congress balanced the Federal budget for the only time it has been balanced in two decades. The Republican Congress ended the year 1948 with the largest Treasury surplus in all history, \$8,419,469,843.

We cut the national debt by \$7,000,000,000 and we cut taxes by \$4,800,000,000 despite three Presidential vetoes, with 71 percent of the tax relief going to those with incomes under \$5,000; removed 7,400,000 wage earners in the lower income brackets from the tax rolls; allowed married couples to reduce their taxes by dividing income for tax purposes, and gave special tax relief to persons over 65 and to the blind.

Republicans went as far as a minority party can go in correcting the unwise policies and mistakes of the administration. In order to meet the broader problems of peace, economic stability, economy and efficiency, and balance in Federal relationships with States and local governments, there would have to be a Republican President in the White House who would cooperate with Congress.

The Democrat Eighty-first and Eighty-second Congresses turned the Nation back to Government controls, inflation, higher taxes,

socialistic trends, and to a war in Korea which drains our economic strength and sacrifices the lives of our soldiers while the chance for victory is denied them.

Here, then, is the record of the Republican Eightieth Congress compared to those of succeeding Democrat Congresses. We are confident any fair appraisal will recognize Republican performance in contrast with the Democrat record of betrayal of public trust.



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